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# History of the Labor Movement in the United States

(A Non-credit Course)

A Correspondence Study Course

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS  
DIVISION OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION  
URBANA

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Division of University Extension  
University of Illinois  
Urbana, Illinois

HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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## FOREWORD TO THE STUDENT

The Division of University Extension is glad to welcome you as a student in its Correspondence Section. This makes you one of a great many who have and are now seeking to further their education by means of the facilities which the University of Illinois makes available to those whose circumstances prevent study on the campus.

Through correspondence courses the University provides regular university instruction by mail. The aim, therefore, is to accomplish more than merely providing you with a set of lessons, grading your papers, and administering your final examination. While face-to-face classroom exchanges are lacking in correspondence instruction, there is possible, nevertheless, a distinct individual and person-to-person relationship between instructor and student. One of the merits of this mode of instruction is that it tests your ability to be self starting and to persist without necessity of another's supervision traits of independence that are among the important ingredients of any successful endeavor.

It follows, however, that you must realize that, more than the student in the college classroom, you are "on your own." This means that you must set yourself the task of preparing assignments, establishing your own goals for the completion of the various units, and then so budgeting your time that these goals may be attained. It is advisable to give a little time each day to the preparation of your lessons. If possible, this should be at the same time every day.

Source of Materials. You are expected to provide, at your own expense, all of the textbooks, supplies and stationery required for your courses<sup>1</sup>. In ordering the text materials specified for a course, it is essential that you obtain the particular editions designated. You may obtain books through campus bookstores, your own local bookstores, or direct from the publishers.

Since the texts used in correspondence courses at the University of Illinois are, in many cases, the same as are used in residence courses, the bookstores on the Champaign-Urbana campus carry them in stock, and will fill orders from correspondence students, mailing the materials C O.D., where proper remittance does not accompany the order.

<sup>1</sup> In the instance of students enrolling through the United States Armed Forces Institute, the Veterans Administration, or other Federal or State agencies, books and supplies will be provided by the University in accordance with the provisions with its contract with the particular agency involved.





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Used texts are available sometimes at these bookstores<sup>2</sup>. The names and addresses of the campus bookstores are:

Follett's Book Store, 629 East Green, Champaign, Illinois  
Illini Union Bookstore, 715 South Wright, Champaign, Illinois  
Schrieber's Bookstore, 711 South Wright, Champaign, Illinois  
U. of I. Supply Store, 627 South Wright, Champaign, Illinois

Music texts and music supplies (only) may be obtained from the Lois Taylor Music Shop, 514 East John, Champaign, Illinois.

Library Reference. The syllabi of correspondence courses of the University of Illinois are so constructed that the student should be able to pursue them successfully using the text and other materials which are required for the course. Many of the courses, however, will carry citations to other recommended references to which the student may have access through local public libraries. Where local public libraries do not have reference materials which you would find helpful, it may be possible for your local library to obtain such materials for you by means of an inter-library loan. Public libraries within the State of Illinois can arrange such inter-library loans from either the Illinois State Library or the University of Illinois Library. If you reside outside of the State of Illinois, your local library should be able to arrange to obtain books under such an arrangement from your State Library.

The Study of Correspondence Assignments. Working conditions under which you study your correspondence materials and prepare your lessons will have a direct bearing upon the results which you attain. Consequently, a satisfactory place for study, adequately lighted and reasonably free from distraction, will be conducive to better work on your part. Distractions will also be minimized if you will have at hand all of the books, equipment, papers, and materials which you expect to use in the preparation of lessons before you start to work upon it.

It will be helpful to you to start upon a lesson by reading very carefully the entire number of pages assigned in the text. This reading will give you a general idea of the work to be mastered. Where necessary, re-read the assignment paragraph by paragraph, endeavoring to organize the information in order to make it your own. After completing this systematic study of the assignment, read the questions, and without reference to the textbook, make rough notes on the points which you wish to cover in your answers.

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<sup>2</sup> It will expedite the filling of orders if you will request shipment to be made C.O.D., particularly if you may be interested in obtaining used books.





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Think through the material thoroughly and organize carefully your answers to the questions. Work out brief, clear, logical statements covering the salient points. Your time is better spent--both for you and your instructor--working out cogent, short remarks, rather than writing merely wordy discussions. Make your answers stick to the point. In providing illustrations, give details in full on points which illustrate the principle. Statements should be complete in themselves and should not require reference to the questions to complete the meaning. One of the advantages of correspondence study is the opportunity for effective training for written expression. Do not neglect it. Completeness of answers must not be sacrificed for brevity. This organization of thought will give you the strongest preparation for your final examination.

You should give particular attention to the specific items assigned by the instructor, and to any specific objectives or special directions listed. To avoid misinterpretation of questions and problems, you should read and consider them with extra care. Answers should be written so as to give concise but adequate coverage of the material called for.

After mastering the lesson, do the writing required in the assignment with as little assistance of any kind as possible, unless the lesson sheet or your instructor specifically directs otherwise. Copying material from an open book does not contribute much to your learning.

Directions for Sending Course Materials to the University. All of the regular lesson assignments for this course are included in this syllabus. On occasion, however, the instructor may request that you do some supplementary exercises. These additional assignments will be given to you in an attempt to reinforce your learning where it appears inadequate. Other supplementary materials, in the form of tests, may be provided from time to time. In those instances where lesson sheets contain blanks which are to be filled in and returned to the Division, pages have been perforated so that they may be torn out.

Unless specifically directed otherwise by your instructor we would like to have you use standard size ( $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 11") paper. It is better to write only on one side of each sheet. Leave a space of about two inches on the left of the sheet to be used by the instructor for writing comments. Your lessons should be written legibly in good ink (black is a good color) or with a typewriter. In language courses, it is highly desirable that the lines be spaced to enable corrections to be written between them. Please number the pages of the material you submit.

Written assignments should be mailed to us one at a time and in proper sequence. Do not wait to send in several lessons at one time,



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and in any case, do not plan to send in more than three in one week. Submit work regularly. Doing so, you get the best results.

You should mail the completed lessons to the Correspondence Study Section, Division of University Extension, University of Illinois, 725 South Wright, Champaign, Illinois. Mail thus completely and correctly addressed will receive more direct handling at the University, which will insure prompt return. Each individual lesson should be accompanied by a transmittal sheet, copies of which are bound in perforated form at the back of this syllabus. We will be grateful if you will fold the lesson and its attached transmittal sheet twice crosswise so that the heading shows to the outside when folded.

It is important that the envelope in which the lesson is mailed bears your name and return address and that the correct amount of postage is affixed to the envelope. Otherwise, it will be necessary for us to pay the postage due and ask that you reimburse us by sending the necessary stamps<sup>3</sup>. It would also be quite helpful if the name and number of the course be written on the lower left hand corner of the envelope.

Final Examination Procedure. To earn credit in a correspondence course you must not only complete all of the assignments and supplementary exercises assigned by your instructor, but you must also take and pass a final examination. A very convenient arrangement, so far as the Division is concerned, is for you to take your examination at the Division Offices, at 725 South Wright Street, Champaign, Illinois. Other places convenient for us are the University of Illinois College of Medicine, 1853 West Polk Street, Chicago, or the University of Illinois Branch, Mayo General Hospital at Galesburg, Illinois. Such an arrangement may cause you less delay in taking the examination. If, however, you find this procedure impossible or too inconvenient, you may arrange to take the examination under proctorship approved by us at some other educational institution.

When we return the last corrected assignment of your course, we will forward your application for examination for your use in completing the arrangements for the final examination as to place and proctorship.

WHEN YOU GET DISCOURAGED, KEEP AT IT.

THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT RULE OF ALL.

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<sup>3</sup> The Division of University Extension pays the postage on the lessons returned from the University to the student.



## NOTES ON PAPER-WRITING

### Research Procedure

The first step in research is an understanding of your subject. Its meaning should be defined which will establish a terminal point for your work. This definition and limit may well take the form of a brief outline of your paper - before you begin to write.

The next step is the establishment of a working bibliography. A preliminary reading of suggested literature will decide for you its value in your project, and will suggest other reading. It is a good idea to keep reading notes on 5" x 8" sheets of scratch-pad paper. This size is easy to file, and can be used for both bibliographies and notes on reading. The accepted form for bibliographical work and for notes to references is as follows:

#### For Books and Pamphlets

Author (including initials), Title (Place of publication, publisher, date) page number.

Example -

Sabine, G. H., A History of Political Theory (New York, Holt, 1937) 10

#### For Periodicals and other Articles

Author (including initials), "Title." Volume number, title of periodical (date or year of periodical) page number.

Example -

Moley, R., "Full Employment Bill." 25 Newsweek (June 18, 1945) 112.

#### For Newspaper Items

Follow the New York Times Index procedure, thus -

Author (if given - if not, Anon.), title of article, newspaper, date, page:column.

Example -

Anon., Council of Economic Advisers, New York Times, June 24, 1946, 19:2.





Notes on the content of reading may well be included on your bibliographical slips; they may be taken in the form of summaries, abstracts, outlines, or quotations. Any important matter which might be useful for illustration in your paper should be quoted in full. When words or phrases are omitted from a quotation, three dots (...) should be used to indicate the omission; if the omission is at the end of a sentence, add a fourth dot. Indicate quotations in your notes with quotation marks. No notes should be taken without a reference to author, title, and page. In this way, you can avoid having to check back on materials already used in collecting data for your paper.

The following books on research methods and sources may be of use to you in preparing to do research - not only on this course, but also for your other research work:

Almack, John C., Research and Thesis Writing. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930).

This work contains chapters on the methods and processes involved in research. Some of them are: Interpretation of the Problem, Scientific Method, The Generalizing Method, Historical Method. You might look particularly at Chapter IX, which is devoted to the library and its use.

Burchfield, Laverne, Student's Guide to Materials in Political Science. (New York, Henry Holt, 1935).

In addition to the chapters on materials and bibliographies in the field of political science there is a chapter on Allied Fields, in which bibliographies and materials on Economics, Sociology, and Psychology are to be found.

Pfiffner, John M., Research Methods in Public Administration (New York, Ronald, 1940).

This book contains discussions of research, and methods of research; career opportunities in research in public bureaus, personnel work, government, universities. There are also discussions of planning of research, handling of data and methods of compiling bibliographies which have some merit.

Schluter, W. C., How to do Research Work (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1929).

In spite of the jargon and "weasel-words" which the author uses, this book has some useful chapters on procedure in research. It enumerates and describes 15 steps in research:

1. Selection of a field, topic, or subject
2. Survey of the field to apprehend the research problem
3. Development of a bibliography
4. Formulation of definition of the problem
5. Differentiation between elements in the problem and outline of them





6. Classification of elements in the problem on the basis of their relation to the data or evidence
7. Determination of data or evidence required on the basis of the elements in the problem
8. Check on the availability of data.
9. Test of the solvability of the problem
10. Collection of data and information
11. Systematizing and arrangement of data
12. Analysis and interpretation of data
13. Arrangement of data for presentation
14. Selection and use of citations, references, and footnotes
15. Development of form and style of the research exposition

### Writing Your Paper

The nature and types of written papers vary with the interest and experience of the individual student. These jottings suggest some of the aspects of writing a paper which may be pertinent.

Insight and critical judgment will be increased as to any subject in the social sciences by further exploration. First, what other courses or studies have you undertaken or are you undertaking which bear on the question? What approaches to it, or data about it, have you found in these studies? How do these materials compare with the points of view or information you are obtaining from your reading?

Second, there are two useful bibliographical aids which open up wide ranges of current materials and opinions on contemporary affairs. These are: Readers Guide; International Index. Other similar indexes cover specialized topics such as: Industrial Arts Index; Legal Periodical Index; and Public Affairs Information Service. You will find one or more of these indexes in most public libraries and in any college library in your locality.

One of the most venial of the sins in the literary calendar is plagiarism - stealing an author's ideas or data without credit. Citation can be made uniform and simple. One usable procedure in insuring integrity in using others' ideas or research is to take the little extra trouble involved in making accurate quotations or, when the quotation is a long one, abstracts from the articles or books you are reading. Referencing should be done as indicated above.

Papers vary, of course, in type. Some, such as reports or abstracts of an informational sort, do not leave much room for originality of treatment, but even this kind of a paper can be interesting to the reader if intelligently handled. Others, expository or controversial, open wide vistas for clarity and effectiveness in presentation.



In writing, style is not irrelevant. After all, a paper on any subject gains in effectiveness from being readable. Three C's worth remembering are: Clearness, Conciseness, Cogency.

If style is not irrelevant, adequate use of the "mother tongue" is indispensable. Grammar and vocabulary need not be esoteric to achieve originality. For the sophisticates and the curious, much delightful tilting at the literary Don Quixotes is to be found in:

Herbert, A. P. - What a Word! (London, Methuen, 1935).

The author, incidentally M.P. for Oxford University, has taken much stuffiness out of the Mother of Parliaments (see his "Essence of Parliament" in pre-1936 Punch) and put a good deal of realism into her - e.g. the new Divorce Bill.

Mencken, H. L., - The American Language; an Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States (4th ed., N.Y., Knopf, 1936).

Mencken, H. L., - The American Language, Supplement I (N.Y., Knopf, 1945). The most recent and the most entertaining examinations of our native version of an ancient tongue.

Finally, pay your work the decent respect of a once-over to discover and eradicate omissions and commissions of spelling, grammar, and style. Nobody who writes does it right the first time every time. Sloppiness is not a hallmark of superiority. After all, a paper in any course can be creative; real creation rarely ends in chaos of thought or language.



# History of the Labor Movement in the U. S.

## INTRODUCTION

This course surveys the development of the labor movement in the United States since colonial times. It is concerned with the impact of technological change on the conditions of industrial work and the resulting efforts of workers to organize unions of their own choosing, the evolution of the major national and international labor unions,-- the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railway Brotherhood--and an analysis of the structure, operation, and policies of selected unions.

You should own or possess a textbook. Through public libraries or otherwise you should have access to and read a reasonable number and variety of the books on the Collateral Reading Reference lists.

Although there is no set progress rate for the course, it is advisable that you devote at least a week to each assignment. In order to obtain the maximum benefit from the course, especially where the suggested readings are available to you, it may be necessary to spend more than a week in the study of each assignment. The maximum time limit for the course is one year.

Let us emphasize the importance of pursuing all branches of your study to their fullest extent. This will mean a thorough digest of the collateral readings, where they are accessible, in order to broaden your basic understanding of the subject.

The work for the course is divided into ten major assignments, each of which covers a group of closely related topics. For each assignment you are given a Study Guide and a set of Text Questions. All such materials are enclosed in this volume. You should send in written answers to all the Text Questions and submit, in writing, examples of your work on The Study Guide as indicated for each assignment. The papers will be returned with constructive criticism. No more than two assignments--preferably only one--should be sent at one time.

Address all lessons and written material to the Correspondence Study Section, Division of University Extension, 725 South Wright St., Champaign, Illinois.





The required text in this course is:

Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor (First Edition), McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York and London, 1945. See Suggestions for Research Assistants for prescribed method of bibliography.

In addition, there will be suggested collateral readings in the following textbooks:

Hoxie, R. F., Trade Unionism in the United States (N. Y., London, D. Appleton & Co., 1917)

Perlmán, Selig, A Theory of the Labor Movement (N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1928)

Commons and Associates, History of Labor in the United States, (N. Y., The Macmillan Co., 1935-1936)

Brooks, R. R., When Labor Organizes (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937)

After the first assignment, reading assignments will be listed by author and page only.



## A. The Philosophical Basis of Labor Organizations--Early Beginnings

## Required reading:

Millis and Montgomery, Organized Labor, pages 1-30

## Suggested reading:

Hoxie, R. F., Trade Unionism in the United States, Chapters 1, 3, 11  
Perlmutter, S., A Theory of the Labor Movement, Chapters 1, 6

In considering the development of the labor movement, we must look at the basic philosophies underlying it, as well as at those which served to interfere with its progress. In general, the move toward organized action has been one prompted by economic and social conditions; men first had to become aware that in their position as individuals, they were subject to complete control by their employers. It was necessary that they be aware of the advantages of group action, forsaking the individualism in which they had been steeped for generations.

Such a change in philosophy may be attributed mainly to the industrial revolution, with its resulting large scale production, which brought a change from the direct employer-employee contact, common in the old guild system. With this came class consciousness and the belief that the worker could not easily rise in society to a position above that of a laborer. Workers began banding together to improve their common lot, and labor unionism, as we know it today, began.

The way has not been an easy one, nor has it been a direct path. Many mistakes have been made, many ideologies accepted and forsaken; but by intense struggle against constant opposition and by trial and error, the labor movement has grown into a non-revolutionary, business unit as it is typified by most American unions today.

## Study Guide

The study guide is to be used to supplement your reading and to aid in understanding the important features in the assignment. It is important that you write out all the exercises in the study, because they will be invaluable as an aid to learning and as a guide to review. Each assignment will have designated specific exercises to be submitted with other written exercises. These will be commented upon by your instructor and returned to you.

1. Understand the effect that the industrial revolution had upon the formation of a group philosophy among workers. See how this change caused workers to question the theory of laissez-faire and complete individualism.



2. In America, particularly, laissez-faire and middle class political domination were powerful deterrents to unionization. Understand the challenge offered by the theory of trade unionism.
3. Discover the concrete factors in the United States which made our labor movement weaker and slower in developing than the European movement.
4. What form did early unionism take in the colonies? Compare their reasons for organized action, and the methods used, with modern union action as you understand it.
5. The first real awakening to unionism came about under the encouragement of such men as Robert Owen. Look for the reasons explaining why such a move attained only a small degree of success.

#### Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Explain how class consciousness contributed to the beginnings of the labor movement.
2. Outline the economic factors, peculiar to the U. S., that impeded the labor movement.
3. Compare the early guild associations with contemporary unions.
4. Although the courts had ruled adversely to unions in several conspiracy cases, what was the real cause of its first serious setback?
5. Summarize the ideas for unionism advocated by Robert Owen.
6. Write out Exercise 4 of the study guide.





- A. Early Attempts at National Federation
- B. Humanitarian Aspirations
- C. The Civil War--Its Effects
- D. Emergence of a National Labor Movement

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 30-75

Suggested Reading: Hoxie, Chapter 4  
Perlman, pages 154-200

The assignment covers the early attempts at unionization in America, beginning with local groups, and the development into national organizations. This period is one of many struggles, depicting clearly the rough path which labor had chosen to follow. The general philosophy of the movement deviated between "business" and humanitarian objectives; membership rose and fell at every turn. The unions' plight improved or worsened with the economy of the nation. In the midst of the turmoil, various plans were tried and abandoned, until a sound business unionism began to grow, exemplified by the newly founded American Federation of Labor. Profiting by earlier mistakes, discarding most of the program of the ill-fated Knights of Labor, there emerged a unionism almost comparable to that of today. The early struggles had proved worthwhile; the foundation was now firmly laid for further development.

#### Study Guide

1. "Business" craft unionism became the keynote in the 1830's only to be seriously set back again by the Panic of '37. Examine union membership statistics to see that this has been a result of every depression in our history.
2. Outline the attempted humanitarian movements of the 1840's. Evaluate them in terms of their contribution to the labor union movement.
3. Show the relationship between national and union turmoil following the Civil War. Illustrate the trend of thought of the times, and its expression in such a group as the National Labor Union.
4. Trace the development of the Knights of Labor, explaining its structure and policies.
5. Understand the basic premises upon which the A. F. L. was founded.





Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Make a critical evaluation of the humanitarian movement in terms of its contribution to trade unionism.
2. Evaluate the effectiveness of the political and reform movements of the National Labor Union.
3. Outline the objectives of the Knights of Labor.
4. Explain the significance of the Haymarket riot.
5. Outline the factors contributing to the dissolution of the Knights of Labor.
6. Write out Exercises 1 and 4 of the study guide.



## A. The Era of Federated Trade Unions

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 76-106

Suggested Reading: Commons and Associates, Vol. 4, pages 3-169  
Perlmán, pages 200-233

With the AFL leading the way, the period from 1890 to 1910 marks a definite change in union philosophy. The new structure was based on the skilled crafts, the program was one of pure "business unionism," immediate economic demands, peaceful tactics, and written agreements. Such a change resulted from past experience and the greater relative strength of the skilled workers. Unions grew in number and power sufficiently to prompt the first concerted employer counter-organizations. For the first time anti-union employer associations were formed, and such tools as the "black-list" and "yellow dog" contracts were introduced.

Another matter of concern to the loosely knit federations was that of jurisdictional disputes. The AFL made organizational attempts at correcting this threat to their successful operation. The success of these attempts to correct jurisdictional disputes will be evaluated in a later assignment.

## Study Guide

1. Outline trade union growth from 1895-1914. Examine the expansion into new industries which accompanied this growth.
2. Trace the changes that were occurring in the economic and social life during this period.
3. Understand the employer opposition encountered by the unions and the results of it.
4. One inherent weakness of trade unions, jurisdictional difficulty, began to appear during this expansion period. Show what steps the A.F.L. took to correct this situation.

## Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. How did the AFL profit by the mistakes of the Knights of Labor? Contrast directly their objectives.



2. Outline the comparative numerical gains by industries made during this period.
3. What effect did the expansion of competitive areas have on union expansion?
4. Explain the tactics used by the employer associations in their attempt to curtail unions. What was the purpose of the National Civil Federation?
5. Explain the purpose for which the Departments of AFL were created. How did they function?
6. Write out Exercises 2 and 4 of the study guide.





## A. Challenges From the Left

## B. War Time Unionism

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 106-140

Suggested Reading: Commons and Associates, Vol. 4, pages 169-288,  
289-435

As we shall see here, the movement toward conservative craft unionism, as depicted in the last assignment, was not to be without its challenge of dual unionism. Socialist and Communist leaders still ardently believed that the best form of relief for labor's problems lay in political action. Attempts were made to convert the AFL to a political program and to broad industrial unionism. "Boring from within" became a common practice of the left-wingers, and the IWW was founded as rival to the AFL. The whole attempt, however, met with little success.

With the war came great union advances. A liberal governmental policy was adopted, granting many rights and privileges to the unions which they had not previously enjoyed. The government gave official recognition to collective bargaining, and employers, operating on a "cost plus" basis, were ready to sign union contracts in an attempt to avoid labor disputes. Because of these concessions, and because of an increasingly liberal attitude prompted by the "war for democracy," membership leaped to new heights, and many other demands were granted, including the eight-hour day in many cases.

### Study Guide

1. Daniel DeLeon and Eugene V. Debs were primarily instrumental in the development of left-wing labor movements at the turn of the century. Compare the careers of these two men in the labor field, showing where they agreed and over what issues they were divided.
2. Trace the history of the IWW: (a) its founding, (b) purposes, and (c) policies.
3. Outline the political action taken by the AFL before World War I. What prompted such a reversal of policy?
4. Outline labor's general gains during the war period.



5. The government was instrumental in these gains. The War Labor Board of 1918 established policies for the war period which preceded by two decades the permanent establishment of these policies, through legislative action. Name these policies, indicating how they were "revolutionary" to popular belief at the time.

#### Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Show how the cause of conservative unionism profited from left-wing activities in the 1880's and again immediately preceding World War I.
2. Outline the part that labor unions had in the formation of the Socialist Party.
3. Show why the IWW failed in its attempt to become a real rival of the AFL.
4. Show the extent of union expansion into new industries during the war.
5. Explain the most important concessions granted to unions during the World War I.
6. Write out Exercises 1 and 4 of the study guide.



With the end of the war came a sudden reversal of the attitudes of employers and Government. This reversal proved to be a severe deterrent to the labor movement. In an attempt to prevent the reversal, unions resorted to the strike, which also proved to be unsuccessful. The AFL laid down a new policy of democracy in industry to serve as the guiding principle in their drive to maintain their wartime gains.

During the decade of the 1920's, labor unionism suffered another serious setback. In the face of strong employer resistance and adverse court decisions, labor's expansion program made little headway. Being a period of prosperity, with "real" wages at a high level, and with little unemployment, unionism held little appeal for the individual worker. In addition, employers all over the country took part in a concerted open-shop drive, increasing their welfare programs, introducing personnel departments, and employing many other tactics designed to win the workers' loyalty from the unions. The result was that union membership decreased steadily during the period.

#### Study Guide

1. Outline the fundamental policies laid down by the AFL following the war. Show the effect of a changing governmental and public policy on their fulfillment.
2. There are a number of conditioning and determining forces having a great effect on trade unionism in the 1920's. Understand what these basic factors were, and show their effect.
3. Outline the methods used, and their effectiveness, in the "new era" offensive launched by employers against unions.
4. Learn the important statistical facts concerning union membership in this period.
5. The AFL adopted a new theory in its wage demands at this time--the "social wage." Understand its implications and the reasons for its adoption.
6. Evaluate the success of the AFL in its political action in the 20's.





## Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Explain the economic and governmental factors contributing to labor's reversal following the war.
2. Cite and explain examples of management's appeal to individualism in the 20's. How did "scientific" personnel administration exert an influence?
3. Show the effect of the high "real" wages of this period on union membership.
4. Evaluate the success of employers in carrying out their "American Plan."
5. Explain the "social wage" theory adopted by the AFL at this time.
6. Evaluate the success of the left-wing movement in the 20's.
7. Write out Exercises 4 and 5 of the Study Guide.



## A. From the Depression Until Now

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 188-243

Suggested Reading: Brooks, Pages 55-95

Since the beginning of the 1930's, we can see a great change in unionism. Although still holding to the fundamental belief in business unionism, the unions have developed a more militant attitude, more intensive political action, and greater reliance upon governmental aid.

The principal reason for this great advancement has been due to the changed social philosophy, reflected in a union-encouraging governmental policy. Collective bargaining was promoted through the National Labor Relations Act, and many anti-union activities, such as black-listing and the "yellow-dog" contract, were declared illegal. Although this period is blemished by the great Civil War in unionism, this split has served as an impetus for further organization, as both the AFL and CIO endeavor to strengthen their position. Organization has been especially great in new industries, and among the unskilled workers.

With the war came many more governmental sanctions, such as the guaranteed maintenance of membership. With the National War Labor Board serving as the ruling force over labor disputes, the unions won many contested issues that probably would not have been gained from the employers alone. As a result of this decade of expansion, climaxed by the war period when employment reached a new level, union membership now stands at its highest peak in history, and the unions have firmly imbedded themselves in American industry.

## Study Guide

1. Understand the important developments in the policy of the government and in the attitude of the workers that brought about the great change in unionism in the 1930's.
2. Trace the union movement's numerical expansion in this period.
3. Trace the course of "labor's civil war," and the birth of the CIO.
4. Compare political action and left-wing unionism since 1930 with that of the preceding periods.



Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Show how unionism changed in functional character after 1930.
2. Illustrate the changed social attitude toward unions by describing some of the legislation during the period.
3. What percentage of membership growth resulted from expansion into new industry?
4. Explain the elementary conditions contributing to the craft-industrial union split.
5. How far did employer policies in general change toward an acceptance of this new union expansion? Why?
6. How did the CIO-PAC differ from early attempts at union political action? Explain.
7. Write out Exercises 2 and 3 of the Study Guide.





## A. Union Structure and Government

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 243-279

Suggested Reading: Hoxie, Chapter 2, 5, 6  
Perlman, pages 219-235  
Brooks, Chapter 9

In order to understand fully the extent of the development of unionism in America, it is necessary to look at existing unions, considering their complex structure and government--results of the century of development. Therefore, this assignment presents a study of the union at the local, and the national or international level, outlining their duties, governments, and related problems.

Trades councils, units of union locals at the state or district level, constitute an intermediate stage in the hierarchy of union government. Allied trades alliances are local bodies established by the various crafts within a trade, such as printing, building, and other industries. These alliances are peculiar to the craft type of structure and are attempts to prevent jurisdictional disputes.

The arguments for both craft and industrial types of unionism are given in this assignment, listing the advantages of both. With the industrial type serving as a challenge to the AFL craft structure, it has chosen the amalgamation, absorption of several crafts into one, as the answer to the industrial union challenge.

## Study Guide

1. Outline union structure and government at the local and international levels.
2. Describe the functions and distribution of power in the local and in the international. Show the purpose of trades councils.
3. Distinguish between trades councils and allied trade organizations.
4. Understand the need for and function of amalgamation.



Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Describe the duties and power of the business agent in the local union.
2. Describe the composition and purpose of the union convention.
3. What are the usual membership problems with which the union must contend? To what extent do internationals ordinarily control local union finance?
4. Give the arguments favoring the craft type of structure. What may be said for the industrial type of union?
5. Distinguish between trade councils and allied trade organizations.
6. Write out Exercises one and four of the Study Guide.



## A. Union Structure and Government

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 279-320

Suggested Reading: Hoxie, Chapters 2, 5, 6  
Perlman, pages 219-235  
Brooks, Chapter 9

In this assignment both the AFL and CIO organizations are described.

These organizations function as loosely knit federations, co-ordinating and consolidating the policies of the affiliated internationals. Both unions respect the autonomy of their affiliates, and try to supplement their work. Some of the main functions are to extend organization, promote the union "label," and aid the affiliated organizations in labor disputes. Both the AFL and CIO are policy-making bodies and are instrumental in securing desirable labor legislation.

The difference between craft and industrial unionism is reflected in the more complex structure of the AFL. It has established departments which govern the internationals concerned with similar types of work; namely, the metal trades, building, and railway departments. However, the basic line structure, with federating bodies at the city and state levels, is the same in both organizations.

## Study Guide

1. Outline the duties and functions of the AFL Departments. Compare the success of the various Departments in (a) handling jurisdictional problems (b) recruiting new members (c) forming local trade councils.
2. Describe the composition and functions of the city centrals, and the state federations.
3. Understand the structure and functions of the AFL. Summarize its generally accepted policies.
4. Consider the CIO with respect to: (a) delegation of power, (b) its hierarchy of structure, and (c) the functions of the various groups.





Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Describe the attempts of the AFL Building Trades Department to attain jurisdictional peace. What were the causes of its constant difficulty in this department?
2. Have trade alliances proved to be a good substitute for the industrial union? Evaluate their worth, using illustrations.
3. What are the policy-forming divisions in the union structure?
4. Contrast the AFL and CIO with respect to central control, general policies, and political views.
5. Write out Exercise one of the Study Guide.



## A. Trade Union Policies and Practices

Required Readings: Millis and Montgomery, pages 389-439

Suggested Readings: Perlman, pages 262-272; chapter 7;  
Hoxie, pages 254-259, chapter 13

It has been clearly shown in the study of union history that, since the turn of the century, the unions' primary interest has been in day-to-day collective bargaining, operating for the individual worker's gain within our present economic structure. The unions have abandoned, for the most part, the long-run idealistic ends that were considered earlier. The study of union policies today centers around wages, hours, working conditions, and other practices affecting employment.

Concrete policies have been outlined by the unions in almost every economic problem involved in production. The wage policies should have special emphasis placed on them, since they are the primary concern of unions. Study these policies of wage rates and wage changes, considering the effect that they would have on the workers and on the public. Test their economic soundness as you study them. These same questions should be kept in mind when studying the shorter-hours movement.

## Study Guide

1. Criticize, and show the problems arising from, the standard wage rate as the employers view the argument.
2. In the past there has been much union-management strife over working for piece rates. Show the general effects of piece rates on labor costs and total costs. Show how these effects will not occur under many conditions, and give the workers' objections to piece rates.
3. Describe the unions' "depression wage" theory, and criticize it from an economic viewpoint with respect to elasticity of demand, volume of employment, and prices.
4. Understand the unions' arguments for the shorter-hours movement. Review the validity of these various arguments.
5. Outline the typical union policy concerning technological improvement.



Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Why does the union insist upon the standard wage? In view of the arguments against it, explain what it has to offer that attracts the union worker.
2. What have been the union objections to piece work? Why have some unions favored the piece rate? Illustrate.
3. Make an economic evaluation of high wages as a stabilizer of business cycles.
4. Explain the "make-work" theory used by unions in advocating shorter hours.
5. Cite examples of the union struggle against technological change. Show what the union policy has generally been.
6. Write out Exercises three and four of the Study Guide.



## A. Trade Union Policies and Practices

Required Reading: Millis and Montgomery, pages 439-485

Suggested Reading: Perlman, pages 182-195  
Hoxie, pages 290-295, chapter 12

In this assignment, we consider more union policies that have developed over the years. Union apprenticeship practices are discussed and the reasons for such practices. Hiring, promotion, and discharge are presented, together with the differing views that have existed, and the changes in policy. Seniority, in unions having such a policy, has direct bearing on this subject. A discussion of direct restriction and regulation of output describes the more common unions practices, and the extent of such action. Union-management co-operation, developing as both parties gain confidence in each other, offers great hope for the elimination of many of unions' defensive practices.

Of primary importance in a study of the labor movement is an understanding of the types of union status. Terms such as "closed shop" and "preferential shop" are well defined, as well as the relative merits and justifiability of the different types. This question has great interest in light of the current governmental concern about the problem.

## Study Guide

1. Review the history of apprenticeship in industry, giving both management and union policies concerning apprentices.
2. Understand the extent, purpose, and advantages of seniority.
3. Almost all unions have, at some time or other, practiced restriction of output. Look for the reasons for such action.
4. With the increasing maturity of the labor movement, union-management co-operation is constantly becoming a more common practice. Explain the functions of union-management co-operation.
5. Define the different types of union status in shops. Outline the arguments for and against the closed shop. Understand the compromise measures that have been introduced in recent years.





## Written Exercises

The following are to be written and submitted to your instructor for review:

1. Explain the objections that may be raised to union apprenticeship rules.
2. Summarize the protection seniority gives to the union man. Explain the arguments for and against seniority.
3. What are the methods of output restriction? May any of them be logically justified? Why?
4. Differentiate between union-management co-operation and collective bargaining as it is commonly practiced. Summarize the advantages co-operation holds for American industry.
5. Explain: (a) the maintenance-of-membership clause; (b) the check-off. Can the closed shop be justified as a protective measure? Explain your view.
6. Write out Exercise two of the Study Guide.
7. Review the Assignment One Study Guide. See if the questions involved in group philosophy versus individual philosophy are more easily answered. Review the development of the movement from the beginning to its present-day complex situation. Attempt to draw conclusions of your own concerning the future of labor unionism, its needs, and its place in industry.



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Urbana, Illinois

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